The linguistic uniformity of the Uighur Uighurs is only one aspect of

their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

[21] Katanov-Menges.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Manchu
Uzbeg

assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover. 000

Despite the fact that Sheng Shih-ts'ai split these people into three distinct groups — Manchu, Solon, and Sibo — they display so little difference that these divisions may be considered of minor importance. The original differences in speech appear to have been lessened by the use of Manchu as an official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three forms as now spoken in Sinkiang are mutually comprehensible. The literary language of all three is Manchu. In other respects too the points of similarity are such that the three groups must be considered as essentially one people. 563* 197

Despite their small numbers, the military ability, tradition of service in administration, and generally forward-looking attitude of the Manchus make them a force to be reckoned with in the province. They appear to have adopted a position in support of the Kulja program against the former Chinese administration. To be sure, their long-term existence as a people is in doubt. Yet their immediate future must involve a measure of local self-government if they are not to constitute a thorn in the flesh of the surrounding majorities. 563* 181

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks in Sinkiang are scattered outposts of the main population group in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. All told there are only 8000 of them in the province. They reside for the most part in the cities — as merchants, traders, and anti-Soviet refugees — more than three quarters of them being located in Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak. 563* 101 161

The Uzbek nation as a whole is now composed of two main ethnic layers: the old Iranian groups which inhabited the southern Inner Asian oasis region, and the Turkish tribes of the so-called "Uzbek confederation" which in the sixteenth century conquered this region. Under the influence of the culture of the Iranian agricultural oasis dwellers, the Uzbeks soon abandoned their nomadic economy and went over to a settled, agricultural 563* 197 174

had come to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton, local British Consul-General and Political Resident, who made haste to point out "that the advantages to be gained were out of all proportion to the danger incurred. . . ." The Titai is said to have agreed, the Russians are said to have been "checkmated," and (unsaid) the industrial development of Kashgar was retarded for another stretch of years. This is a sample of the sort of thing that has long been holding back Sinkiang development.

Yet it is doubtful whether the tribesmen of the Sinkiang steppes and oases spent much time yearning for progress as such. They clung to their time-honored ways, and a thousand years more or less seemed to bring little change or concern. For Sinkiang did have color and charm —charm especially of a human, a warm temperament. A perfect host might sometimes put his wife or pretty daughter at the disposal of an overnight guest but paradoxically the modesty of a woman was protected by a face veil. A wealthy khan might expand his harem until it almost rivaled that of Yakub Beg, self-made "King of Kashgar," who maintained three hundred favorites in state and always took at least four with him on his trips to outlying areas. At Sinkiang merry-makings, as befitted a nomad's paradise, mare's milk was quaffed with gusto and horse meat was regarded an expensive luxury. A fortune-teller was always ready to deal out prosperity for the throng of a local bazaar; somewhere near by a tambourine would jingle merrily; and a samovar was usually singing its own happy song. Uighur, Mongol, Kazakh, and Son of Han, all and more, mingled, yet maintained their own traditions; and religion ran the gamut—from Mohammedanism, Lamaist Buddhism, and ancient Manichaeism to Christianity.

But in the old Sinkiang, as has too often been the case elsewhere, along with the enchanting and the bizarre there were poverty, cruelty, and crime. The Sinkiang peasant in most cases made his home in a dirty, mud-wood hovel or, on the steppe, in a primitive, tent-like abode. It was at times hard going for him to scrape up enough food on which to feed himself and his family, and often he took to begging and to thievery, only to be apportioned harsh punishment. It was not unusual for a servant, caught stealing, to have his fingers or part of his tongue

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

after crossing four passes between 12,000 and 16,000 feet high and traversing three different valleys sparsely inhabited by Kirghiz, debouches upon the great plain of Central Asia near the flourishing town of Yangi Hissar. The winter route goes north from Tashqurghan over the easy Ulugh Rabat Pass (circ. 13,500 feet) to the Rangkul Pamir, past the beautiful lakes of Little Qarakul and Basikul, and then down through the tremendous gorge of the Gez River which cuts through the Kashgar Range between the great ice-clad massifs of Qungur (25,146 feet) and Chakragil (22,180 feet). It comes out on to the Kashgarian plain at Tashmalik, whence the city is reached in two marches.

Sariqol is about the most unpopular district among Chinese officials in all Eastern Turkistan. Its capital is 10,250 feet above the sea and has a climate which may be described as three months spring and nine months winter; most of the ten days' journey from the nearest civilization has to be performed on horseback instead of in the Peking cart beloved of the travelling Celestial; last but not least, the inhabitants are an unruly lot, very different from the timid and peaceable Turkis of the plains. Small wonder then that the Governor of Chinese Turkistan at Urumchi has the utmost difficulty in finding men for the post. But he does find them, and what is more he removes and replaces them if (as may be expected sometimes in a place so remote from supervision) they misbehave themselves; a fact which throws a remarkable light upon the effectiveness of Governor Yang's control over a district which is no less than two months' journey from his headquarters.

But though the Ambans may regard themselves as Ugolinos condemned to an Inferno of cold, the summer visitor to Tashqurghan will find much that is pleasing in the marvellous clearness and purity of its air, its spacious greensward threaded with pellucid streams and the beautiful shapes of the mountains which stand in glittering ranks all round, yet not too near it. Conspicuous among these is Muz Tagh Ata, "Father of the Ice Mountains," blazing in all its mighty mass of whiteness over the vivid green of the meadows. Though it is 24,388 feet high, the enormous width of Muz Tagh Ata detracts from its beauty as a mountain, and it does not compare for a moment with Rakaposhi or Nanga Parbat; but its very size is impressive, and the vast extent of its snowfields and glaciers, the whiteness of which has an intense

CHINESE CENTRAL ASIA

It is a great place

for the treasure-seekers, known as "Taklamakanchis," who are to be found all along the fringe of the great desert; ragged, ever-hopeful men of the tramp type who spend their lives ransacking the remains of ancient Buddhist tombs and temples far out among the sands of the Takla Makan. Occasionally these men find a few coins or seals or flakes of gold-leaf used in decoration; but I never heard of any one of them becoming rich in the process. From the archæological point of view, the activities of the ubiquitous Taklamakanchis cut both ways; Stein acknowledges many debts to them, including assistance, direct or indirect, in the discovery of his chief sites; but he had far oftener to deplore the damage done by them to tombs and temples, stupas and dwelling-houses.

Zawa, 23rd November, 1922.

We are no longer in "Kashgaria" now; we are in the ancient land of Khotan, the "Kingdom of Jade." There is a distinct edge-of-the-desert feel about the countryside, fertile and closely-cultivated though it is. You notice it first when you come to Goma after the long desert stretch from Karghalik. You are getting further east; the great Takla Makan on your left hand is nearly at its broadest; the Kunlun on your right is an arid range. Now and again, quite unexpectedly, you come upon a belt of desert or a village islanded in sand; for here, as in Kansu far to the east, the inexorable "Gobi" —the word means merely "desert"—is encroaching from the north-west, pushing the thin line of cultivation back against the fifteen-hundred mile-long wall of Tibet. One whole village we passed was in its death-throes; a spear-head of dunes from the north had pinned it against the barren foothills, and all the houses had been abandoned except two or three to which the owners still clung pathetically though the sand was heaped right up to the roof. The loess soil in these parts, though apparently no less prolific when watered, is lighter both in weight and in colour than the yellow loess of Kashgar. The climate is evidently warmer, as one would expect, for the houses of the poor are all of wattles plastered with mud, unlike the solid mud-brick structures of the Kashgar oasis. The people too are more vivacious and excitable, as befits the south; one notices it at once in the small boys, whose enterprise and cheekiness in pursuit of a *tamasha* (*e.g.* a foreign traveller and his wife) has to be seen to be believed. The inhabitants of the southern oases are great pigeon-lovers. Outside every farm-house you will see tall poles with cross-poles at the top and rows of fat pigeons roosting on them at sunset. If you sprinkle grain on the sand at the *Kaptar Mazar* or Pigeon Shrine of Qumrabat Padshahim (literally, My King's Castle in the Sand) in the desert between Goma and Khotan, thousands of pigeons will stream out to meet you, a sort of Milky Way of pigeons, and the sound of their cooing and of their myriad wings is like the sea.

Khotan, 24th November, 1922.

This afternoon, eight miles from Khotan, we stopped at an ornate building opening off the bazaar of a small town. The masons were still at work and a stone-carver was chiselling away at a lengthy inscription in Turki on the outer face of the gateway. The legend

[1] [i.e. Goma on the Takla Makan- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 was her home. She made such a pretty picture as she smiled to us in greeting that I took out my camera and snapped her, saying as I did so "*Qurqmaselar.*" ("Don't be afraid"), for I was accustomed to the shyness of the women of the plains which renders a natural (i.e. unposed) photograph of them so difficult to obtain. To our surprise she tossed her head and said "I'm not afraid of men!" and then and there she chatted pleasantly to us for a few minutes, holding the lamb in her arms all the while, asking us all about ourselves and gossiping about Merket and the Amban's visit. On another occasion we noticed a Dulani woman digging in a field of heavy clay with great energy, while her husband strolled along behind the plough-bullocks close by. As for the town, the men there seem to leave everything to the fair sex, and a picture comes to my mind of a blacksmith's forge with a woman toiling away at the bellows with one hand and holding a horse-shoe in the fire with the other, while her husband and two other loafers sat by looking on. It was an astonishing sight, every time we issued from our Chinese rest-house just outside the bazaar, to see rows and rows, not of women and children as at Keriya but of full-grown men lining the railings waiting for us to come out; I counted seventy-two of them on one occasion, and hardly a single woman.

181 The standard of living as well as of morals among the Dulanis is noticeably lower than among the Turkis; thieving is rife, witness the watch-dogs which seem to average about three per house. They are also an exceedingly quarrelsome and vindictive race, in contrast to the easy-going, good-natured Turki. A Dulani will do anything to hurt an enemy. It is 627 a regular thing for one who has a quarrel with another to 682 threaten to kill his child or himself "at" his enemy, i.e. in order to bring bad luck on him, and sometimes he does it, too. The extraordinary thing is that the Chinese recognize the custom, and usually give judgment against the party "at" whom the child-murder or suicide was committed! They argue that the person who committed suicide or killed his child must have been seriously wronged, otherwise he would not have taken so dreadful a step. In a case I heard with the Amban of Maralbashi one of the main issues, argued at great length, was whether the plaintiff, who had attempted to kill himself by swallowing an over-dose of opium, had done so "at" the defendant, or, as the latter maintained, "at" a third party.

600 During our stay at Merket an important "international"

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

of the servants and baggage round by the Ghijak Pass to the north, while D. and I with two orderlies, a couple of Kirghiz guides and little else but our toothbrushes, crossed the Kizmak. Each party spending a night on the way, we were to meet the baggage at Chat in the Qaratash Valley, six miles above the great gorges down which we hoped to pass.

Before carrying out this plan we halted a day at a croft called Chong Terek or the Big Poplar, a couple of miles up the Chumbuz Jilgha. The day was spent by me in surveying the lower part of the Chumbuz valley and by D. in doctoring the Kirghiz, baking scones and hunting chikor and pigeons. We were still, at 8,000 feet, among agricultural Kirghiz, and we did not like them nearly as much as the pastoral inhabitants of the higher levels. The people of the lower Chumbuz Jilgha seemed to us a mongrel mixture of Turki and Kirghiz, combining the laziness of the former with the untruthfulness of the latter and lacking the good qualities of either. The women, too, D. said, were more like the sophisticated product of the plains than the handsome, fearless, busy ladies of the lofty grazing-grounds. We found ourselves among the latter kind once more at the Kizmak pastures near the head of the Chumbuz Jilgha, which we ascended on 9th April while our caravan went round by the Ghijaq Pass. The tents of the Kizmak Kirghiz were pitched at an elevation of 11,100 feet, on a steeply-sloping strip of land under high red sandstone cliffs beside the partially-frozen stream, and the place swarmed with a picturesque medley of men in huge fur-rimmed caps, women in their quaint turbans, children, yaks, ponies, sheep, goats, dogs and cats. A large *aq-oi* full of warm-tinted rugs and other Kirghiz "furniture" was hastily vacated for us, the tiny bath-tent we always carried on these occasions was put up outside, and we were soon comfortably settled. It was still early in the afternoon, and the ladies soon had D. out; armed with her medicine-bottles she visited each of the other tents in turn, bathing sore eyes, anointing neglected cuts and badly chapped hands and prescribing for the universal indigestion caused by the rock-like bread and masses of sour cream the Kirghiz indulge in. Her description in a letter of the scene in the last *aq-oi* she visited is delightful. "I sat on the floor," she says, "tying up a woman's badly-cut knee, while three others stood round holding out their dresses as a screen from the male inmates of the tent; in the middle, over the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

to the brilliant clearness of the weather my plane-table and cameras kept me very busy. The "rays" and telepanoramas I obtained of Qungur and the Shiwakte from this side proved afterwards of the greatest value to Major Mason in his compilation of my topographical material.[1]

The cold at nights was severe, and the development of my plates and films was carried on under difficulties. Two or three of my best views, including a perfect one of Muz Tagh Ata, reflected in the waters of the Qara Kul, were spoilt by the plates freezing before they were properly dry. Snow fell almost every night, and unless one laced up the door of one's tent tightly before going to bed, there was apt to be a small snow-drift on one's pillow in the morning. Whenever we could, we occupied *aq-ois*, because of the fire which could be made in the middle if there was enough *burtsa* or *saxaul* brushwood. The latter is not a good fuel for open fires, but makes excellent hot-ashes for the "fire-bucket." If it is to be used for a fire, it is advisable to lay the plants with their stalks outwards and the bushy part towards the middle, as they burn better thus.

The Ulugh Rabat Pass (13,650 feet), immediately to the west of Muz Tagh Ata, consists merely of rolling downs with a barely perceptible watershed. When we crossed it on 20th September it had a little snow on it—just enough to make me wish I had my skis with me and could wait for the next snowfall. Between November and April, when the snow lies everywhere, one could ski every yard of the 5 miles from the top of the pass to the Qarasu post, and most of the 12 miles on to Ghujak as well. The run down the north side of the pass would be shorter, but just as good.

Passing the flourishing settlement of Tagharma, chief centre of the Tajiks, we reached Tashqurghan the following day, and after a couple of days' halt went on to Yurghal Gumbaz on 24th September. On the latter march we spent the whole morning visiting Pir Imam Dad and our other Maulai friends of 1922 at Tughlan Shahr. D. was struck by the almost Italian vivacity and warmth of feeling shown by the Tajik women, compared with the more phlegmatic and reserved Kirghiz. In my dealings with the men, too, I found them much more excitable than either the Kirghiz or the Turkis of the plains. At Nadir Beg's house D. was greeted enthusiastically by a vivacious, bright-eyed, alert little woman,

[1] "Geographical Journal," June 1925, pp. 406–8

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang. All

who had entertained her for ten minutes at Mintaka Aghzi on the journey up. This lady had then been living with her father, the Beg of Mintaka, but had since married into Nadir's family. She rushed at D., patted her all over and began re-arranging her hair, which had suffered from the gallop across the meadows from Tashqurghan. She also kissed her when leaving. A quite poor Tajik woman at Yurghal Gumbaz told D. that she had had nine children, of whom seven had died. One of her daughters had been very beautiful. "She died when she was still a bride," said the old lady. "She was very lovely, her eyes were full of fire.[1] She was so beautiful that I used to sit making clothes for her all day long."

The Tajiks use the word *chokan* for "bride," i.e. a wife who has not yet borne a child, whereas the Turkis as already mentioned reserve the term for an unmarried girl. Similarly the word *jawan* is used for a woman who has borne children, not as at Kashgar. A Tajik married woman wears big mother-of-pearl buttons over her ears, and at intervals of about two inches down each *chach* or braid of hair. The appetite of the Tajiks for medicine is in no way inferior to that of the Kirghiz. A lad was sent with us all the way to Yurghal Gumbaz to fetch back from our camp doses of castor-oil and anteczema which D. had prescribed for a baby and an elderly widow respectively. D. gave most careful and explicit instructions to the messenger, but it is quite likely that they rubbed the widow with the castor-oil and administered the anteczema internally to the baby.

Three days later we reached Lopgaz at the northern foot of the Mintaka Pass, 14,000 feet above the sea. It had been cold even at Paik, the stage before, and I had adjured the Beg who was looking after us, to be sure and provide good *aq-ois* and plenty of firewood. Imagine our disgust, therefore, when we arrived at the bleak and open Lopgaz camping-ground, just as the sun was dipping behind a snowy ridge, to find nothing but two miserable little huts, full of holes and smelling strongly, and not a scrap of firewood. The Beg was a long way behind with our loads, and there was nothing for it but to set to work and collect fuel for ourselves. All that was to be had in the valley was the tiniest growth of *burtsa* imaginable, plants the size of face-sponges and damp at that. After an hour we had collected a heap about two feet high, which

[1] The Turki word for fire (*ut*) is also used for love.

all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

SN 181 777 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion. 181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and SN government, can be described as the average conception of 342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives 35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, SN caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

517 571 565 423 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials 571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time 423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a 178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, 668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep SN inclination towards Communism.

563 233 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions
N
563
233
[423]
[476]

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

N
S
563
181

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid; dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted,
S
N
563
181
991
114
and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

N
563
992

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S
N
563
668
233
[361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN (668)

SN 563 181 153 VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

SN 563 153 779 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

[162] [181] The Kashgarian population is known as gentle, good natured, honest, and of unusual hospitality." (Pevtsov, M.V : Puteshestvie V Kashgariiu i Kun-lun, Journey to Kashgaria and Kun-lun, P.53).

Out of the 4.8 million population, the Turkic people constitute by far the largest group in number. They amount to 3.7 million and include the Uighurs or Eastern Turks, Taranchi, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Tatars. The Uighurs are the largest, numbering 3.6 million. They are distributed mainly around the Tarim Basin. The Mongols are the second largest including the Olots, Torguts, Khoshuts, Chahar, Urianghai, a mixture between Turkic and Mongols or rather Mongolized Turks. There are over 300,000 Kazaks and over 70,000 Kirghiz. They are distributed mostly in the north and south Dzungarian Basin respectively.

The Chinese and Dungans form the third largest group with a total of over 300,000 of which two thirds are Chinese. (Not counting the newly arrived large number of the Chinese Armed Forces). The small number of pure Chinese consist of officials, merchants, and colonists. They are distributed mainly in southern Dzungaria and the Ili Valley. They are on the increase as a result of the intensified economic development of the province. The Manchus are small in number with a total of about 5,000 consisting of Solons and Sibos. They represent the remnants of the old Manchu guards and officials. Both the Chinese and Manchus are found largely in the big towns north of the Tien-shan and in the Ili Valley, except Hami which lies south of the "Celestial Mountain" Range.

Chinese colonists in Sinkiang, even though small in numbers, exhibit a rather variegated pattern. There are the soldiers who came into the region during the campaigns of Tso Tsung-t'ang and of whom many remained first in military colonies (tun-t'ien) and later as free settlers. They were mostly from Hunan province and Hunan Chinese were for a time so conspicuous in the region that Sinkiang has been referred to as "Little Hunan." Petty merchants who followed Tso's bandwagon were mostly from Peking and Tientsin and again many of them stayed and expanded their businesses after the campaign was over. Among these, down to the present, Sinkiang is referred to as the Great Western Camp. Later autocratic governors such as Yang Tseng-hsin and Sheng Shih-ts'ai drew their fellow provincials into the region. The most recent [167] wave of settlers however came from the provinces of Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, and Szechwan, most of them driven by famines; a poor lot altogether, trying to forget the vicissitudes of life by indulging in opium. A sprinkling of Chinese from Manchuria can also be found in Sinkiang, remnants of the evacuated armies of

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
538 from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[173] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.
[212]

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History
175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
[144] oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[538] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N
*563 B. History of Islam in Kansu
795 There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
174 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
797 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to
N China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.
*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)
*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
81 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[197] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[197] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a
[197] second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
• 181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

563 The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
181 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

N
*563 /The Tibetans/
764 are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and
[534] relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N
*563 4. Popular beliefs
755 When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is
N written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is
[796] believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

N
*563 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to
789 learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N
*563 5. Recreation
533 The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

S
563 H. The Western Mongols or Torguts
● 181 Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

000 The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike character, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

/Turks of Sinkiang/

648 177 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transportation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.

[799] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiocity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great [167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1917 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

[439] Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relationships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

• 181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expression in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The [626] pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

181 spite of the strong feeling of identification with Islam, the looseness of the family ties, the absence of any clan ties among the sedentary population, and the tremendous amount of individual economic independence, are indicative of this trend of individualism in the Turkic sedentary society.

The traditional economic structure of the urban society, which is based on the small individual merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, is probably the main contributor to the individualistic nature which developed in this society.

Individualism in the Turkic society is not a conscious intellectual movement (although it is reflected in much of the Turkic literature), but is a product of spontaneous historical evolution of the
181 society. The establishment of a strong Communist regime with
668 its exceedingly numerous social controls on the life of the individ-
179 ual is an unnatural imposition on this society. The stress on conformity to set a pattern of thought and behavior, the encroachment on the individual liberties, and above all the destruction of the individual economic basis, will probably destroy much of the individualistic traditions of the Turkic society.

181 The situation differs in some respects in the nomadic tribal
184 society, where the individual depends so strongly on the society for his economic and cultural needs as well. Here the individual's freedom of action and expression is curtailed to fit the pressing needs of the society as a whole. The family and clan ties are much stronger and more important.

181 G. The Concept of Freedom

183 While the Chinese, living in the same environment as the Turks,
192 even lack a proper term for 'freedom', the Turks feel so strongly and emotional about 'freedom', that they have an abundant number of different words for it, just as the Mongols have hundreds of words for military and tactical matters.

Words for freedom are, besides istiklal (of Arabian origin and most used), hürrüyet (e.g. söz hürriyeti 'freedom of speech'), serbestlik (the Eastern Turks often refer to their struggle for freedom as to serbestlik harbi 'the war or campaign for independence'), muafiyet, azadelik, etc.

181 The concept of freedom goes back to the nomadic tribes of
183 Central Asia. The freedom enjoyed by the nomad is one of the most highly valued of his treasures. The sedentary Turks still look up to the nomads, whose way of life they have given up centuries ago. Their literary and cultural traditions have come down from their nomadic forefathers, and with them the concept of the unlimited freedom of the steppe people.

The traditional concept of freedom was not of Turkic origin alone; the Arabic influence on the Turkic civilization has left its
192 marks here also. The word that designates freedom in Turkish

181 183 (192) is "istiklal" which is actually an Arabic loan word. Istiklal means both freedom and independence. Along with the nomadic conception of the freedom of movement in the vast steppes, there is also a reflection of the concept of political independence and being one's own master. The 19th and 20th centuries brought additional associations to the word freedom. Along with the rise of nationalistic 181 183 668 177 aspirations, which resulted indirectly from the similar movements in Europe, some Western ideas and notions have reached Turkestan indirectly also. Though the Western full concept of freedom and democracy is not comprehended among the majority of the people of Eastern Turkestan, it has added more depth and breadth to the concept of freedom. The awareness of the need for political freedom has grown in Sinkiang in the last century. Sinkiang's history in this period indicates the strong desires and wishes of its people to be free of Chinese rule, or any other foreign domination. The Turkic people strongly resent and resist the encroachment on their freedom of action and political decision. This feeling of resentment is not only experienced by the more sophisticated sedentary population, aspiring for political independence, but is also shared by the nomadic people. The Communists have made attempts to either encroach on their freedom of movement in their searches for pasture land, or have completely attempted to sedentarize them. Thus, not only the economic existence of the nomads is threatened, but the freedom characteristic of their way of life is in danger also. The Communists have not only arrested the political freedom of the Turks and their desires for independence, but have also touched on their traditional values associated with their nomadic past, and threatening the existence of the nomads today.

H. Attitude toward Change

177 178 565 There are elements of both resistance and of desire for change among the Eastern Turkis. The dominating social and economic classes - consisting of the wealthy merchants (the Türks call them 'pek mühim ve zengin tüccar' , verbatim: "the very important and rich merchants'), landowners (Türk: Emlak sahibi), and clergy (Türk: Rahibler) - opposed change which threatened to undermine their social and material status. The general population aspired to raise their social position and standards of living, but at the same time did not wish to lose their leaders to whom they have always looked for direction and guidance. There is no question that no section of the society aspired to a forced, radical type of change for which they were not prepared. This type of change in the social structure, the complete leveling off of the social classes, with only the party hierarchy in a superior position, which was forced down on the population by the Communists, is an artificial product for which the Turkic society was not ready, nor willing to inflict upon itself.

177 inflict upon itself.
178 The desire for political change is, on the other hand, quite
[668] unanimous and finds expression in the nationalist movement, which aspires to throw the Chinese out of Sinkiang and set up a Turkic government. The only ones who welcome the existing rule are the Turks with positions in the party who have a vested interest in the present regime.

177 The wish for economic and technological change, while in
178 general looked upon with favor, is opposed by those who have
668 vested interests in the present system. The small artisans (Turk: zanaatkar ve el iscisiler) and handicraftsmen are likely to lose their livelihood with the coming of such changes. The social changes imposed on the population by the Communist regime, pave the way for the introduction of economic and technological changes. While industries threaten the existence of the small artisans, [redacted]icraftsmen, and merchants, the collective state farms, using [redacted]gricultural machinery and techniques, would threaten the existence of the small farmer, who could never afford such renovations, and is not encouraged by the present regime to own his land and equipment.

181 I. War and Peace Concepts

The Moslems are known in China for their courage in battles and their rebellious spirit. They are known to make good soldiers, when fighting for a cause they believe in. Their skill and talent in way enjoys a reputation as being superior to that of the Chinese.

181 The Turks have inherited their tradition of war and their
721 fighting spirit from their nomadic ancestors, descendants of the
719 great Turkic empires in Central Asia. War is not only a Turkic tradition, but a strong conception of war is also included in the Moslem religion. One of the five primary duties of a Moslem is to go on a Holy War (Jihad) and to fight in the name of Allah against the non-believers. This tradition stems from the early days of Islam during Mohammed's attempts to overcome his opponents, and it was particularly stressed during the days of the Moslem political and religious expansion. A Holy War today still is an important tool for rallying the believers of Islam to war, although its effectiveness cannot be compared with the times of the past.

While the duty of war is impressed on the believer against the domain of war, peace is the order in the domain of Islam among all the believers. 'Peace, in Turkic 'baris', has the connotation of giving each other shelter. It is important to keep in mind that while the Turks in Sinkiang could quite easily be rallied to war under an Islamic flag, fighting side by side with the Chinese is a totally different matter. The emotional cause and motivation, and the feeling of loyalty which constitute the important elements of the morale of any army, would be completely lacking there,

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 [565] One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Al'ahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song indicates: [735] [539]

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

S
N
795 /Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/
559 apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and
485 more lucrative business." (p. 73).
114 Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much con-
S cerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life
N is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures,
842 one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This
795 is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems
771 cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian
177 faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend
N upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul
*563 or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her
S book:
563 "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of
N their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way
*563 of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability
177 to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They
181 alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the
[669] Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in
S the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the
563 the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the sus-
127 picion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change
* 181 their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese
[669 population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the
S Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang
563 were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and
642 speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah.
643 This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Gov-
177 ernment took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration